

ON THE
PAINTINGS IN THE CHAPTER HOUSE, WESTMINSTER.

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Whenever we have to consider a work of mediæval art, it is important that we comprehend the conditions under which it was executed. If we look upon it with the same feeling that animates us when viewing a work of modern times, we are at once in error, and must, therefore, arrive at erroneous conclusions. The modern artist accepts no control but the rules and practice of his art. His work depends entirely upon his own independent conception of the event he intends to record; and the praise of originality is considered to be a testimony to his genius. The art, that is, the ecclesiastical art, of the middle ages was conducted on principles the reverse of this. The very canon on which it was founded emphatically stated, "The art *only* was the painter's," all else, the mode of treatment, the order, and even the distribution of the subjects, belonged to ecclesiastical authority. The reason for this was simply stated: Art was for instruction, and pictures in churches "the book of the ignorant." From the seventh to the twelfth century, it thus became reduced to a convention accepted alike both by the Eastern and Western Churches—an universal language throughout Christendom. Nevertheless, it was not without development or life. On the contrary, it had both; although in the Eastern Church this seemed to have ceased in the twelfth century; and works executed in the Greek Church at the present time might easily be mistaken for the art of that era.

But in Western Europe it was not so. The more energetic, freer, and ever-moving forces, both political and religious, of the States in communion with the Latin Church, continued this development down to the period of the Reformation, after which it ceased, and old traditions became neglected or forgotten. Its last effort, which originated at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries,

was a bitter and caustic satire, *The Dance of Death*, which seemed almost prophetic of those changes in the religious and political world then appearing on the horizon. I have thought it necessary to preface my description with these remarks, because most of the works, under consideration, differ as much from the art of our time, as that of Egyptian and Assyrian mythology. Indeed many of the symbols are as recondite, and would be as obscure, as those of the mythologies to which I have referred, did we not find a key by which to interpret them.

The paintings before us, though in a very fragmentary condition, are of unusual interest. There are three periods of execution distinctly visible; the date of one portion, difficult to assign on account of some obvious retouching, may yet be approximately fixed by some unmistakable characters. There are evidences that, in the first instance, one large and comprehensive subject was resolved upon for the decoration of the walls. These are to be found upon the eastern wall, and in the few demifigures of angels which occupy, when preserved, the upper portion of the recesses of the arcade on the north and south walls. All these are of one style and consequently of one date, and they are among the most valuable relics of early art in this country. This subject was the "Second Coming of Our Lord," which the Greek church still gives as distinct from the Last Judgment, although it is obvious that it is merely a point of time of the same event. I shall be able to refer you to an example, in close analogy, from one of our country churches. Now, the date of this early work can be fixed to within a definite period by the characters used in some inscribed phrases, which I shall presently point out. By this evidence I should not fix it later than 1370. From some causes or other, the continuation must then have been arrested, but resumed, either at the end of the century, or at farthest, during the first ten years of the succeeding one.

This takes us into the reign of Henry IV., and we may assume, perhaps, that the three bays of the arcade on the south side had a corresponding portion on the north wall also filled, making a sort of conclusion to the original subject, or a further progress in that direction. We cannot imagine, however, that any more was done, for, if so, it would never have been effaced to make room for the later work.

A long interval now took place, during which the greater part of the walls must have remained bare. All intention of following up the original subject was abandoned, and when at length the decoration was

recommenced in the latter half of the fifteenth century, the story of St. John the Evangelist, with the Apocalypse, was executed by John of Northampton, a monk of the Abbey.

Having thus given a general glance at the whole, I will now proceed to give a more precise description. Each side of the octagon, except that of the west, by which we enter the Chapter House, has a recessed arcade of five bays, on the walls of which are the remains of the paintings. The eastern side commences the subject, and the central division contains the figure of Our Lord seated upon a rainbow, a globe—the earth—at his feet. Both hands are uplifted, displaying his wounds: the body is nude, and the mantle parting, shows his pierced side, from which drops of blood are issuing, and there are also indications of the “bloody sweat.” This crimson mantle with a richly-worked border fastened by a jewelled morse upon his breast, is cast across his knees, and is, apparently, represented as lined with ermine. The raised work of the morse is of *gesso*, executed by a process described in the work of Cennino Cennini,* and much used by the early Italian painters. The head, unhappily, purposely defaced, has the crossed nimbus, gilded in this, as in all the other instances, and enriched by a radiated pattern. The gilded bordure of the mantle is delicately worked in a fashion which everyone acquainted with early Italian painting must be familiar with. Above this figure four angels sustain drapery of a blue colour, “diapered,” according to Eastlake, but no traces of this are now visible † and all has grown very dark. No doubt this represents the vesture about which the soldiers cast lots, as the attendant angels in this compartment have the rest of the emblems of the Passion. Two stand on each side below the figure of Christ; one on the left holds the nails and the reed with sponge; on the other side the angel holding the lance is more defaced. The head of that holding the reed, &c. on the left of the Saviour particularly deserves our attention; for though the lower half of the face is gone, that which remains is remarkably suggestive of beauty. The treatment of this part of the subject is fully explained by mediæval writers, who refer to Isaiah, ch. lxiii: “Who is he that

* Trattato della Pittura. Roma: 1821, cap. cxxiv.

† Vide Materials for the History of Oil Painting, p. 179. The process of varnishing which has been adopted for the preservation of these paintings has darkened them, and by rendering the surface more brittle will probably accelerate their decay.

cometh in dyed garments from Bozrah ;” and, “ Wherefore art thou red in thine apparel and thy garments like him that treadeth in the wine-fat.” *

The remaining figures of the heavenly host, thus attendant upon our Lord, are given in the other compartments. On each side the central one is a representation of Cherubim ; that on the left holds a crown in each hand, one of which is scarcely visible. This figure is six-winged, a convention of ancient use, formed upon the texts of Isaiah, ch. v. ver. 1, 2 ; Ezekiel, ch. x. ; as also upon that at chap. iv. of the Apocalypse. It has two wings covering the body, two displayed on each side, and two above the head tipped with bright red. The body and arms are covered with golden plumage filled with eyes like those in peacocks’ tails : and it stands upon a wheel, of which but a few traces remain. Upon the wings are the remains of inscriptions. A figure precisely similar to this in its conventional treatment may be seen in that magnificent MS. No. 83, in the Arundel Collection, British Museum, and which is dated 1339 ; † so that it really belongs to the same era as the works under our notice. But I am indebted to the kindness of our friend Mr. J. E. Gardner in selecting for me, and producing from his unrivalled collection, a drawing by John Carter, which, from its preserving more of these inscriptions than now remains, has enabled me to identify these designs as being one and the same convention ; varying only in some small matters of detail, which do not alter the general sense. It will be best, if I first describe the perfect figures in

* The whole is described, as one of the regular subjects in which Christ is represented, by Durandus : *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, lib. i. fol. vii. Argent. 1484. “ (Imago salvatoris) depicta ut residens in throno seu in solio excelso presentem indicat potentiam et potestatem quasi diceret, data est ei omnis potestas in cœlo et in terra, juxta illud: Vidi dominum sedentem super solium, etc. Id est: Dei filium super angelos regnantem, juxta illud: Qui sedes super Cherubin.” But the continuation perhaps more properly belongs to the special mode of treatment here observed : “ Quoque vero depingit sicut viderunt eum Moyses et Aaron, Nadab et Abim, scilicet super montem et sub pedibus ejus quasi opus saphiricum et quasi cœlum serenum. Et quoniam sicut ait Lucas tunc videbunt filium hominis venientem in nube cum potentia magna et majestate ideo quoque *ei circumcirca pingunt angeli* qui ei semper serviunt et assistant et *depingunt cum sex alis*, secundum Esaiah dicit: Seraphim stabunt juxta illud, sex alæ uni et sex alæ alteri duabus velabant faciem ejus duabus pedes, et quabus volabant.”

† This, however, is the record of gift, not execution, which seems to belong to the beginning of the fourteenth century.

the MS. and afterwards compare the remains in the Chapter House and show wherein they differ.

The MS. thus describes the figures: "This cherubin, depicted in human form, has six wings, which represent six acts of manners, by which the faithful soul may be redeemed, if he would reach unto God through the increasing of virtue. The wheel under the feet of the cherubin having seven radii designates the works of mercy which the Lord threatened that he would reproach the negligent and remiss on the Day of Judgment." Upon the radii of the wheel is written the different order of the works of mercy, according to the Latin Church.* The wings which cover the body are called respectively "Cleanliness of the mind" (*Munditia mentis*), "Cleanliness of the flesh" (*Munditia carnis*). This is explained by legends on the plumes. Under the first it is—

- Humiliation of oneself (*Sui humiliatio*).
- Renunciation of sin (*Peccati abrenunciatio*).
- Confirmation in hope (*In spe confirmatio*).
- Perfection of integrity (*Integritatis perfectio*).
- Love of virtues (*Virtutum dilectio*).

Under the latter, on the left wing, *i.e.* "Cleanliness of the Flesh," is—

- Bounteousness of almsgiving (*Elemosinarum largitio*).
- Keeping of vigils (*Vigilarum actio*).
- Use of discipline (*Disciplinarum usus*).
- Devout in prayer (*Orationum devotio*).
- Fasting (*Jejunium*).

The right wing, which is extended, is labelled "Confession" (*Confessio*). On the plumes are written, as explanatory of its meaning—

- The effusion of tears (*Lacrimarum effusio*).†
- Holy premeditation (*Sancta premeditatio*).
- Simplicity of speech (*Simplex locutio*).
- Modest judgment (*Verecunda cognitio*).
- Promptitude of obedience (*Obedientiæ promptitudo*).

* "Cherubin iste in humana effigie depictus sex habet alas quæ sex actus morum representant. Quibus debet fidelis anima redimi si ad deum per incrementa virtutum voluerit pervenire."

"Rota sub pedibus cherubin habens radios septem opera misericordiæ designant. Quæ dominus comminatus se inproperaturum in die iudicii negligentibus remissis." On the axle, "Opera misericordiæ." On the spokes, "Cibo, Poto, Vestio, Condo, Viato, Voco, Solæ."—Arundel MS. 83, Brit. Mus.

† This expression is of frequent occurrence in monastic writers when speaking of contrition in confession.

The left wing is labelled "Satisfaction" (*Satisfactio*), which is thus explained on the plumes :

- A constraining of hearing (*Cohibicio auditus*).
- A modesty of sight (*Modestia visus*).
- An abatement of smell (*Subtractio oderatus*).
- A temperance of taste (*Temperancia gustus*).
- A refraining of touch (*Refrenacio tactus*)*.

The right of the wings upraised above the head is labelled "Love of God (*Dilectio dei*). On the plumes this is interpreted to consist in these things :

- To relinquish all things on account of God (*Omnia propter deum relinquere*)
- To renounce your own will † (*Proprie voluntati renunciare*).
- Not to desire another's goods (*Aliena non concupiscere*).
- To distribute your own (*Sua distribuere*).

And it ends—

In these things to persevere (*In hiis perseverare*).

The left corresponding wing is labelled "Love of neighbour" (*Dilectio proximi*), explained on the plumes—

- To hurt no one (*Nulli nocere*).
- To do good to all (*Omnibus prodesse*).
- To lay down your life for your brother (*Pro fratre animam ponere*).
- To sustain loss for your brother (*Pro fratre dampnum sustinere*).

And it ends, as before—

In these things to persevere (*In hiis perseverare*).

By means of the drawing already referred to, and some notes given by Sir C. Eastlake in "Materials for the History of Oil Painting," p. 179, of other details, one is able partially to restore the legends on

* The sermon for the second Sunday of Advent, among the Collection "Sermones Dormi Securè," refers to the five senses, as five Kings with their armies fighting against us: "Sed quinque reges cum suis exercitibus impugnant nos in quinque sensus corporis, scilicet, *visus, auditus, gustus, tactus et odoratus*."

† This renunciation of the will is always spoken of as a great monastic virtue. In Herolt's *Sermo XXIII*, quoting St. Gregory, he says, "religiosus offert deo *propriam voluntatem* et hoc per votum obedientiæ. Et hoc est maximum sacrificium quis propter deum resignat *propriam voluntatem* et subjicit voluntatem suam voluntati prelati sui."

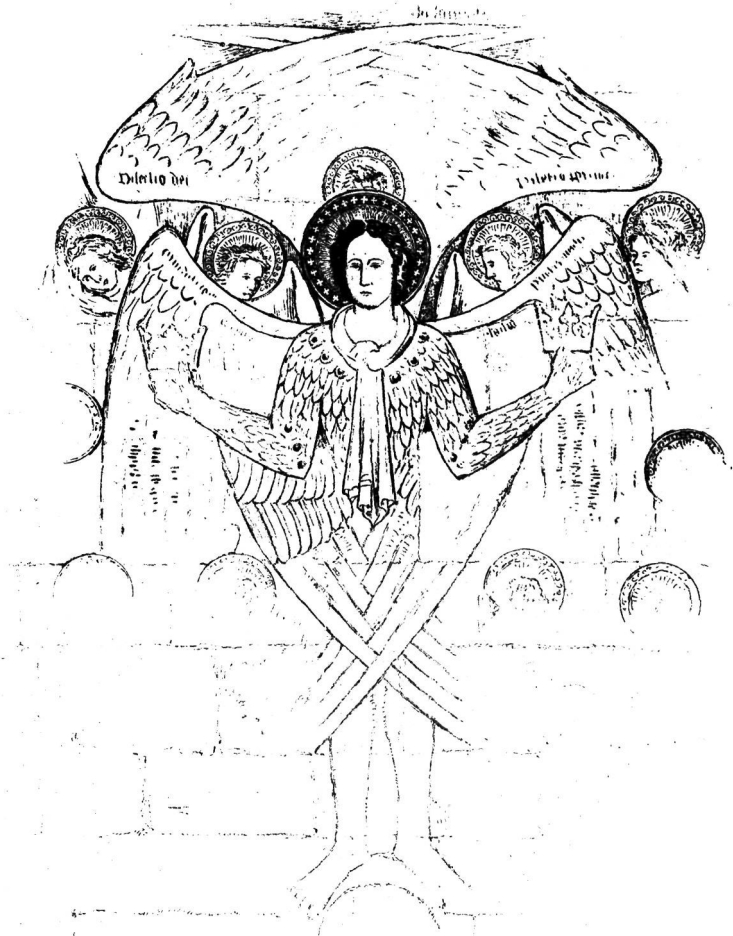


Fig. 1.

REMAINS OF PAINTING ON THE EAST WALL,
OF THE CHAPTER HOUSE, WESTMINSTER.

the figures in the Chapter House, and thus to make a comparison with those in the Arundel MS. The principle is the same in both, the differences merely verbal. "Munditia mentis" of the MS. is here "Puritas mentis;" and under "Confessio" it is "Simplicitas, Humilitas, Fidelitas." Of the two last words now remain only "Hu and F" Possibly this was completed by "Veritas and Obedientia." Under "Satisfactio" Eastlake mentions "Orōnis devocio, Elcemosina," and perhaps "Jejunium." He evidently saw part of what is better preserved in Carter's drawing, viz. "Peccati abrenunciatio, Lacrimarū effusio, Ca(stigationes),* Elemosinarū largicio, Orōnis devocio." We see here the same expressions as in the Arundel MS., though not arranged quite in the same way. He also mentions having seen the word "lateria" (latreia) above the figure, and indeed there are still remains of it, and, besides, what appears to make the whole as standing originally thus: "Lateria in aula formosa." "Aula formosa" may be considered synonymous with "The Incomparable Hall," by which this structure was distinguished. On the left wing, under "Puritas mentis," by aid of the same drawing, we can restore the now nearly obliterated inscription. The Italics show what I believe was intended, where the letters were obscure in Carter's time. "Att(enta) funeri plenitudo. (In preceptis) domini dilectatio. Ora, et ordinata cogitatio. Vo'luntatis discrecio. Simplex et pura intentio." So that although we can trace the same feeling, both in the painting and in the MS., yet there are differences in the former, indicating, perhaps, a somewhat more ascetic character, suitable to the atmosphere of monastic seclusion (fig. 1).

We must never attempt to guess at that which moved the mind of a mediæval artist, but seek our explanation in the ecclesiastical literature of the time, and the modes of thought which we find therein.† On the office of the Angel volumes have been written, and many passages occur which illustrate art. In Herolt's "Sermo de Tempore," CLVIII. is the following, which directly bears upon our subject, and show us why

* See Herolt's Sermo de Tempore, CLVIII. for the authority for this restoration. It is equivalent to "Disciplinarum usus" of the Arundel MS.

† Sir C. L. Eastlake, whose researches into the history of painting are extremely valuable, calls this subject, "Christ surrounded by the Christian Virtues," but there was no such subject in ancient ecclesiastical art. It is fair, however, to state that he seems to have been in doubt of his accuracy.—*Materials for the History of Oil Painting*, p. 179.

these legends are associated with the Angel. Angels serve in perfecting us, so that they teach them (men) good works, as *prayers*, *fastings*, and *alms*, *vigils*, and *castigations*, and even bodily labours they offer principally to God.* The office of the Angel, then, is to show men their duties and obligations which lead to a final reward. This illustrates the spirit under which the painting was executed. So, further, the crown which the figure is holding is a heavenly crown of reward, according to the principles of mediæval art, to make everything palpable to the senses. It is the crown of victory over vice. Thus St. Bernard: "as often as you withstand so often will you be crowned"; and St. Ambrose: "a crown is proposed, contests are undergone; no one can be crowned unless he conquer.† In that wonderful volume the *Benedictional* of St. Ethelwold, in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire, date the tenth century, the figures of the Confessors, and also of the Choir of Virgins, are given with crowns; and in the subject of the "Death of the Virgin," the hand of God extends from heaven holding a crown over the head of the departing figure.‡ In fact, one of the best-known subject in mediæval art is the Coronation of the Virgin, which is simply symbolic of the heavenly reward to a holy life. A crown of glory is a very familiar metaphor and it is here merely embodied. In St. Edmund's Chapel in the Abbey, in one of the spandrils of the arcade, is a sculptured demi-figure of an angel holding a crown in each hand.§ It

* In mediæval sermons when treating of confession and satisfaction, these words, "*Orationes*, *jesunia*, *elemosynas*, *vigilias*, *castigationes*," are of constant occurrence. Herolt, in *Sermo XLIII. De Contritione et Confessione*, says, "*Satisfactio sperandum fieri per contrarium, ut superbo injungenda est humiliatio et prostratio et vestium ornatus depositio. Item avaro injustarum rerum restitutio, et de justis rebus elemosynarum distributio. Item gulosis et ebriosis abstinentia et jejunium Item accidiosis et pigris injungendæ sunt vigiliae.*"

† Herolt's *Sermo CLV. Quo modo servare tenemur deo*. "Bern. Quoties restiteris toties coronaberis. Ambro. Corona proposita, est subeunda sunt certamina, nemo poterit coronari nisi vicerit." Surely these metaphors originated in the crowning of victors in the games, or in the military crowns of the Romans, on which Tertullian is so bitter (See *De Corona*). In *Revelations*, ch. xi. v. 10, is, "Be faithful unto death and I will give you a crown of life." In the legends of several saints the dove brings down a crown to the martyr. (Vide *Petrus de Natalibus*, Art. St. Margaret and St. Regina.)

‡ *Archæologia*, vol. xxiv.

§ See also a painting in St. John's Church, Winchester.—*Journal of the British Archæological Association*, vol. ix.



FIG. 2.

HEAD OF ANGEL ON EASTERN WALL OF CHAPTER HOUSE, WESTMINSTER.

belongs to the thirteenth century, but is obviously a similar convention to that of which we are treating. But it would be easy to extend the illustration of this subject indefinitely.

There is a corresponding figure in the compartment on the right of the centre, differing in a few details, but preserving more of the outline of the general form. The head is one of the finest in the series. The wings bear no legends, the left hand holds a crown,* but in the right is a rosary, according to Eastlake, who probably saw it more perfect or distinct. At present, so little remains that it is impossible to speak with confidence, though the conjecture seems very plausible; its signification must be prayer, for in this sense it is occasionally found in mediæval conventions.† Both figures are associated with other angelic forms arranged above and below, having the faces red, the distinguishing colour of the seraph, not, as Eastlake would infer, a convention of the Italian artists only, but one quite universal in ecclesiastical art, as may be proved from the frequency with which it occurs in manuscript illuminations. This arrangement of the cherubim, on each side the figure of our Lord, is of great antiquity, and occurs in the Bible of St. Paul, a MS. of the eighth or ninth century, preserved in the Vatican, and seems specially to belong to this subject. (Vide Agincourt, *Histoire de l'Art*, &c.) In the last compartments, right and left, there are remains of groups of angels, which radiate towards the centre, a mode of composition much in favour with the early Italian painters. In that on the right side they are best preserved, and contain some heads remarkably characteristic of the school and full of expression; the many coloured wings also remind us of the same. The finest of these is here engraved (Fig. 2).

On the south wall of the adjoining side of the octagon, three bays of the arcade preserve remains of groups belonging to this subject. In the first, that nearest to the eastern side, they are entirely obliterated, only traces of colour are to be seen here and there: in the second much

* This crown is raised in *gesso* work.

† Most likely we have here symbolised the institution of the Rosary and Crown, established in the tenth or eleventh century. "The Rosary consists in fifteen repetitions of the Lord's Prayer and a hundred and fifty salutations of the Blessed Virgin; while the Crown consists in six or seven repetitions of the Lord's Prayer and six or seven times ten salutations or *Ave Marias*."—Mosheim, *Ecclesiast. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 429. Some attribute this institution to St. Dominic; perhaps he may have revived it.

defaced ; in the third, however, they are better preserved. They consist of several figures apparently kneeling, all, or nearly so, turning their faces towards the centre, and some with hands in attitude of prayer. Many of the heads, especially on the upper part of the composition, are expressive and boldly painted ; but there is much inequality in the execution, and the hands are very ill drawn. There appears to have been retouching in many parts, which makes it difficult to understand the relation which some details have to date of execution. But from the mode in which the flowing locks of an aged figure on the lower part of the composition are treated, I should not place the date of the original work much later than 1410. It is a continuation of the first grand scheme, and represents the Patriarchs and Prophets of the Old Law. To appropriate the different figures is now not an easy task : but amongst them are two in ermined robes, evidently to indicate royal personages. One of these is distinguished by a harp on the morse of his mantle, and is therefore, without any doubt, intended to point out King David. Then, it follows that, the aged figure in white flowing hair, behind him is his son Solomon. Another above with a curly forked beard might possibly be intended for Abraham. Our first parents would have been in the compartment nearest to the eastern side, now utterly effaced. We may be confident that no more of this subject was continued, except perhaps a corresponding portion on the opposite or north side, which would have had the Apostles, Saints, and Martyrs of the New Law or Testament.

The same subject was discovered in 1848, on the wall above the chancel arch in Great Waltham Church, Essex. It was described by my late friend F. W. Fairholt, thus : “ The painting occupies a space of about nine feet in height by fifteen feet in width. The figures are the size of life, and the principal one, the Redeemer, is of colossal proportions, and occupies the centre. He is seated on a rainbow and is clothed in a red garment having white under-clothing. He is exhibiting the wounds by which he has gained our redemption ; and the angels above are hymning praises to the trumpet and lute. The sun and moon are above his head. On the right of the Saviour is a group of six crowned female figures ; the foremost of which is regally attired, and has a nimbus round the head. This group is in a fair state of preservation, but that on the other side is not ; it consists of the same number of male figures in attitudes of adoration ; and their costume and the general style of the drawing appear to fix the date of the

picture to the latter end the fourteenth century." (Vide Journal of the British Archaeological Association, vol. iii. 1848.) So, it was a contemporary work.

There yet remains undescribed one portion of this first plan or scheme of decoration, viz. the remains of the demi-figures of angels at the apex of each arched recess, upon the north and south walls. Of these only a few are sufficiently perfect to show the design completely, but it will be observed, that they originally filled up all these spaces, and are not confined to those over the Apocalyptic visions. On the south wall they consist of figures playing upon a trombone, bagpipe, pipe, and flagolet. The two latter are tolerably well preserved—simply, yet well designed and gracefully executed. On the north wall, the best is in the first compartment over the commencement of St. John's history. It is playing upon a species of lute, and is a sweet and elegant design. Now, the fact that these originally filled all these spaces on the north and south sides, and not only over the Apocalyptic visions, would show that they belonged to the earlier scheme. But the style of execution and general character is not only vastly superior to the later work, but is of the same conventional manner as the earlier part on the eastern wall, and therefore evidently belongs to the same time and school. This leads us at once to a conclusion respecting the whole, and points unmistakably to a large and comprehensive idea of decorating the whole building with the subject of the "Second Coming of Christ." It is one of the grandest of the ancient ecclesiastical conventions, and is still in use in the Greek Church. The "Guide" * gives nine divisions in which the several personages are arranged on each side the figure of Our Lord. 1. The Choir of the Apostles. 2. The Choir of our First Parents. 3. The Choir of the Patriarchs. 4. The Choir of the Prophets. 5. The Choir of the Bishops. 6. The Choir of the Martyrs. 7. The Choir of Saints. 8. The Choir of Pious Kings. 9. The Choir of Women, Martyrs, or Solitaries. This was obviously capable of any amount of amplification, in which the monastic orders would assuredly have had a large part assigned to them. It is not at all probable that any other accompaniments of the "Last Judgment" were intended to be introduced, as the site

* The Greek "Guide of Painting" was discovered by M. Didron at Esphigmenon, Mount Athos, and he published a translation with notes in 1845.

would be unfavourable. What we should have had, in the complete work, would have been an embodied "Te Deum," in which Our Lord would be associated with all the attributes of glory and power, attended by the whole Church Militant, with the sound of sacred minstrelsy, as at Great Waltham. There is a beautiful example of this subject in the National Gallery, by Fra Angelico, entitled, "Christ surrounded by Angels, Prophets, Martyrs, and Saints," and it is just such an arrangement which would doubtless have been followed in the Chapter House, had it been completed. On the right of the Saviour the Virgin Mary leads, as it were, the Saints of the New Law, and St. John the Baptist those on the left. The central figure of Christ is the only departure from ancient conventions, and is given as standing with a banner and cross in the left hand, whilst the right is in the act of benediction. It is one of the most exquisite examples of this master, and is well calculated to show the nature of the subject as a means of decoration.

We may, I think, then fairly assume, from the evidence presented before us, that the eastern wall was first begun as a matter of course. Naturally then the work would proceed with the small demi-figures of angels. I have already stated its further progress was then suspended, and as I put the date of this first portion between the years 1350 and 1370, as the character of the inscriptions on the cherub best accords with that time, it would follow that the period of this suspension of the work would be about the end of the reign of Edward III. Now the resumption of it, of which the groups on the south wall are the result, could not easily be given at a date earlier than the commencement of the fifteenth century, and not much after 1410, according to data already stated. If, in endeavouring to find a cause for the abrupt termination of this great scheme, we look to passing events after the decease of Edward III. we might find it, perhaps, in the troubled reign of Richard II., and, if I am correct in the time in which the work was again taken in hand, it would be in the short reign of his successor Henry Bolingbroke. Perhaps also the sittings of Parliament in the Chapter House may have had something to do with it. But, after the additions of which I have just spoken, the original subject seems to have been altogether abandoned. A long time elapsed before anything farther was done towards the completion of the decoration, and, on its being taken up again, at the latter part of the fifteenth century, the Life of St. John the Evangelist, embracing

the episode of his exile at Patmos, and the visions of the Apocalypse, was painted by John of Northampton to fill up the remaining spaces.

But, before I proceed to describe this series, it is necessary to say a few words on the character of the earlier design and the time in which it was executed. In the first place the painting on the eastern wall is unmistakeably by an Italian hand: of this there can be no dispute whatever, when we compare it with contemporary work done in the palace of Westminster in the usual conventional style. The whole plan must also be due to one individual mind, even that of the later executed groups on the south wall. The two heads,* which I have alluded to, in the compartment abutting on the north side, seem to point out the school, and have all the characters of that which followed Giotto. But, in the numerous records which we have of the works of St. Stephen's Chapel and other decorations of the palace of Westminster, at the very same time, viz. between the years 1350 and 1369, we search in vain for a name which would carry us to the other side of the Alps. It is a most interesting fact that all are English, even John Barneby, who gets paid twice as much as any other "Magister," viz. 2s. per day, at least worth £1 4s. of our time, so he must have been a man of mark. As Mr. Smith, the author of "The Antiquities of Westminster,"† considers that some angels in St. Stephen's Chapel, sustaining drapery, are by the same hand as these which we are considering, the same master must have been employed, supposing he is right. The chief name therefore is wanting, and the special services which he rendered, must have been recognised in a distinct form. Italians had been employed in England in the previous century, and as Lionel, Duke of Clarence, married Violante, the daughter of Galeazzo II. Duke of Milan, it is easy to see how the superior art of Italy might have been attracted to England. The style of the work shows that it belongs to the northern schools of that country, and one of the numerous pupils of Giotto may have been the chief "Magister" whose name we so much desire, but which eludes our inquiry.

If we endeavour to realize from these poor defaced remains the effect of this eastern side, when its paintings were recent and com-

* See engraving of one of these, p. 385.

† Engraved in his *Antiquities of Westminster*, p. 153; but I think his opinion is very questionable, though he had the advantage of seeing the originals: the details differ materially.

plete, the task must be a species of calculation. In many cases, only indications of a gilded nimbus point out the position of an angelic form. In the central compartment, besides the angel on each side, there are the heads of the four above sustaining the drapery previously described, in itself a common Italian convention. In the compartments on each side, the cherub was surrounded by seraphs, that on the left having five above and six below, so in this division alone were twelve figures or parts of them. On the right side there is one less. The other panels have remains of fourteen altogether, making in the whole forty-four heads of figures yet to be traced, all of them irradiated by a golden nimbus. When we add to this the brilliant colours introduced, and an excellence in the execution of the work, comparing well with any art of the time, and assuredly done under the supervision of an accomplished master, the splendour of the effect must have been most striking; and we had, perhaps, no other instance which altogether could compare with it. For the evidences we have of the work done in the palace of Westminster, undoubtedly fine of its kind, and saying much for the English art in practice among us, prove to us that it must cede altogether to the mental superiority shown in the few heads which here remain.

The series, which now come under our consideration, belongs to a very different school indeed to those just described. Its subjects are strictly conventional, following rules throughout, and symbolic hieratic signs; in every respect, indeed, a piece of art writing. Their merit, even considering the time in which they were executed, is very small, falling very much below the average of such work, as judged by contemporary standards. Nevertheless, there is much interest attached to them. The subjects are rarely met with, and we have the name of the artist. By a cartulary formerly in the possession of Sir Charles Young, late Garter King at Arms, we learn that the painter was brother John of Northampton, a monk of the abbey, that he received 4*l.* 10*s.* for his labours,* which are, however, mentioned as not yet completed

* "Frater Johannes Northampton fieri fecit picturam de Judicio in fronte domus capitularis pro xi marcis. Item fieri fecit *picturam Apocalypsis pro iiij li. x s. in capitulo nondum completo.* Et similiter Kalendare (xxx s.) in claustro, cum aliis picturis (xx s.) ibidem ad portam ecclesie pro vij li." See Dean Stanley's Memorials of Westminster Abbey.

"Nondum completo" may refer strictly to the Chapter House being left incomplete, the walls being left bare before John of Northampton began his work.

(*nondum completo*). No precise date is given to this document, but, as it mentions Abbot Kirton's tomb, it must have been after 1440, the date of his death. Many of the details point closely to the middle of the fifteenth century, and perhaps 1460 would be as near to the time of execution or completion as could be fixed by the character of the work itself. The plan, as it begins with some incident of St. John's life, doubtless ended with the same. In fact, by calculating the spaces all round, and examining the general selection of subjects in other medieval series of the Apocalypse, especially one among the manuscripts in the Royal Library, British Museum, marked 2 D. xiii., I consider ninety-two subjects as the probable number for the visions of the Apocalypse, which is but one more than the manuscript; nor would it be easy to extend this number. So that, the twelve spaces, which are left to make up the one hundred and four subjects which the subdivision requires, were doubtless filled with incidents of the saint's life. In point of fact, it is the history of the saint which is given upon the walls, embracing as an episode his exile at Patmos with the Apocalyptic visions. This theory is established by the four scenes from his life, though we miss four others, which commenced the series, but which are now obliterated.

The subjects are arranged in four compartments in each recess of the arcade, and are divided from each other by a red band, stencilled with roses, except in one instance, when these are superseded by a *talbot* dog. This is certainly significant, and has a special meaning, and must surely be in remembrance of the great Sir John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury,—a whim possibly of the artist, whose name was John, for an affectionate record of a hero who bore his own Christian name, as well as that of the saint whose life he was depicting. Each subject has beneath its distinctive legend or text written upon paper, and pasted, or rather as it appears, glued upon the wall, each end painted scroll-wise. Some few upon the south side have been painted directly on a prepared ground upon the wall itself; but whether this was a renewal or not it is impossible now to say, as it is not a modern restoration. Most of the texts have also a rubricated gloss, in many instances of which the initial letter is omitted. Possibly this may be from one of the numerous mediæval commentaries on the Apocalypse, the text of which may have followed one then extant in the library of the monastery. The character of these glosses consists of rather whimsical applications or similitudes, such as are the moralizations of

the tales in the *Gesta Romanorum*, but their mutilated condition forbids any attempt at a complete collation with any existing authority. The text of the *Apocalypse* is of course that of the Latin Vulgate, but there are several verbal variations, and some accidental repetitions of the transcriber.

The story began in the single recess of the west wall, close to the entrance on the left hand as you enter the Chapter House. But this is entirely defaced, only having here and there some patches of colour to prove that it was formerly painted over. Here, however, would have been four subjects from the early history of St. John's life, including his preaching at Ephesus, and its results, which brought him under the notice of the proconsul of the Ephesians.

In the next compartment the subjects are well preserved. The first of these is the fifth of the series, and represents St. John being brought before the Emperor Domitian. The latter is seated in royal robes, wearing a highly pointed tiara, and he is holding a sceptre in his left hand. Behind him is one in the costume of a judge or man of law—the proconsul—whilst a rabble are goading the saint forward towards the tribunal with kicks and blows; one is threatening him with a mace held above him. The saint is in a red tunic and blue mantle, and is holding a book, and he is thus distinguished throughout. The legend beneath, though defaced and faded, yet preserves sufficient to enable one to comprehend the whole meaning, and it takes the form of a letter from the proconsul of the Ephesians to the Emperor Domitian.

In the *Times* of May 6, 1867, is a letter from Dr. Wordsworth, now Bishop of Lincoln, giving a translation of this and the succeeding legend, in which he states, that he had been assisted by the Rev. H. O. Coxe, the librarian of the Bodleian library, to an early printed book containing the legend of St. John and which seems to follow closely to the text of that used here, whereby he was enabled to give substantially a correct version of the whole. I am indebted to the courtesy of both in kindly answering my communications on the subject, and to Mr. Coxe for having supplied me with the text and references for the lapses which occur.* It is clear, however, that, although closely following that in the Chapter House, it does not literally do so, but as I give the legend beneath—line for line—as it can

* *De la Bigne, Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum. Lugduni, 1677, vol. ii. p. 52.*

now be deciphered, and place the supplied text in Italics, the comparison will be easy for those who desire to make it. I shall use freely the translation of Dr. Wordsworth.

To the most pious Cæsar, and always Augustus, Domitian, the Proconsul of the Ephesians sends greeting: We notify to your glory that a certain man named John, of the nation of the Hebrews, has come into Asia, and, preaching Jesus crucified, affirms him to be the true God and the son of God, and is abolishing the worship of our invincible deities, and is hastening to destroy the venerable temples constructed and founded by your ancestors. This man, being contrariant—as a magician and a sacrilegious person—to your Imperial edict, is converting almost all the people of the Ephesian city by his magical arts and by his preaching to the worship of a man crucified and dead. But we, having a zeal for the worship of the immortal gods, endeavoured to prevail upon him, by fair words and blandishments, and also by threats, according to your Imperial edict, to deny his Christ and to make offerings to the immortal gods. And since we have not been able to induce him by any methods to do this, we address this letter to your Majesty, in order that you may signify to us what is your royal pleasure to be done with him. As soon as Domitian had read this letter, being enraged, he sent a rescript to the proconsul that he should put the holy John in chains and bring him with him from Ephesus to Rome, and there assume to himself the judgment according to the Imperial command.*

* (5) P(rius) ces(ari) et semper augusto domiciano proconsul ephesiorum salutem. Notificamus glorie vestre quoniam quidam vir no- | mine johannes gente hebreorum in asiam ventus est et predicans ihesum crucifixum affirmat eum verum deum et dei filium | esse (*et culturam.....*) inuinctissimorum deorum nostrorum euacuat et templa ueneranda ab antecessoribus uestris construc- | ta fundita (*evertit.....*) iat contrarius itaq' hic existens magus et sacrilegus uestro imperiale dicto suis magicis | artibus et.....petit.....ephesine ad culturam hominis crucifixi et mortui conuersus. Nos |deorum tribunalibus uestris presentatum ad preveniendum blanditiis et |atque diis omnipotentibus | grata libamina.....nul- |direximus ut quicquid magistratis uestre de eo fieri notoff- | cetis statim ut legit epistola.....proconsuli ut sanctum johannem ab epheso ad- | ventumque assumeret iudicium.

The fifth line cannot be verbally restored by the authority given, which follows thus after the word "artibus": *et prædicationibus repente omnem Ephesinum populum ad*. And the rest, after "Nos," runs thus: *erga deorum immortalium culturam zelum habentes iussimus eum pro tribunalibus uestris presentari et juxta benignissimum clementiæ tuæ rescriptum blanditiis et terroribus studimus ammonere ut Christum suum negaret et a prædicationibus desisteret atque diis omnipotentibus grata libamina offeret. Quæ cum illi nulla ratione suadere potuimus hos apices imperiali tuæ majestati direximus ut*

(6)* The next subject is the carrying out the sentence of the Emperor, and all the same persons appear in it. The Emperor is holding a drawn sword in his right hand, and a sceptre in his left, standing by the cauldron seeing the execution of his sentence. Some officials are stirring up the fire beneath it, and one is blowing it with a bellows. Here we find a very common mediæval licence, for the very legend beneath the painting shows us that the Emperor was *not* present at the execution of the sentence,† else he would not have required to have been informed of the result; but the artist places him there bodily to give emphasis to the act, and to show unmistakably it was Domitian who persecuted the saint: the painter, in fact, followed his convention, and cared nothing for unities. It is the best known of all subjects in connection with St. John's history. The legend is here nearly complete, and is—

Then, the Proconsul, according to the Imperial command, led with him to Rome the most blessed John the Apostle bound with chains, and announced his arrival to the Cæsar Domitian. But the most cruel Domitian, being very indignant, commanded the Proconsul that he should put the holy John into a boiling cauldron in the presence of the senate, before the gate which is called "Latin," first having scourged him, which was done: whence, the grace of God protecting him, he issued unhurt, not having received the least corruption. But the Proconsul, astonished at seeing him to have come forth from the cauldron anointed, not scorched, wished to restore him to his liberty; and he would have

quicquid supremæ celsitudinæ tuæ de prædicto rebelli visum fuerit cognitum diligenter exequamur. It has the same substantive matter as the legend beneath the painting.

* (6) Tunc proconsul secundum imperiale preceptum beatissimum johannem apostolum cat(*henis uin*)ctum romam se adduxit et ce- | sari domiciano eius adventum nunciavit. Indignatus autem crudelissimus domicianus proconsuli jussit ut ante portam | que latina dicitur in conspectu senatus in ferventi doleo sanctus johannes deponeret pri(*mus nec*) non flagellis cederetur quod et | factum est unde protegente eum gracia dei tam illesus exiit quam minimus a corruptione exti(*terat Vid*)ens vero proconsul eum de do- | leo exisse unctum non adustum obstupefactus voluit cum libertati sue restituere. Et fecisset jussioni regie contradire. | Hoc autem eum domiciano relatatum fuisset precepit sanctum johannem apostolum in exilium (*in*)sula que pathmos dicitur in qua | et apocalypsim que et nomine eius legitur et vidit et scripsit.

† In the narrative of the Golden Legend the Emperor is present, and also it says "a cauldron of boiling oil" (*dolium ferventis olei*). The latter word being omitted renders the story incomplete, and the "unctum non adustum" unintelligible.

done so, if he had not feared to contravene the royal command. But when this was related to Domitian, he commanded the holy John the Apostle into exile to the island which is called Patmos, in which the Apocalypse, which is read in his name, he both saw and wrote.

It is singular that, the two succeeding legends, though continuing St. John's history, do not refer to the subjects. (7)* This compartment shows the saint being deported by the orders of the Emperor. He is in a boat, which is being pushed off from the strand. (8)† In the next we have the boat again, in which he is arriving at Patmos, and his figure appears twice; once in the boat as arriving, again on the shore as having landed, and the boat is being pushed off. This mode of treatment is common in mediæval art. The legends are both very illegible and indistinct, but what remains shows their character. The first tells us that the same year that Domitian sent the holy John into exile he was slain by the senate, and all his acts revoked; and that then St. John returned to and continued his ministrations at Ephesus, and refuted the "heresy of those who said that Christ before Mary was not." And there he remained, and in a sermon discoursed of the Trinity, as he afterwards set forth in the exordium of his Gospel, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God."

The next division of the arcade commences the series of subjects from the Apocalypse or Book of Revelation, and are generally well preserved.

(9) The first is the ninth in succession, and is from the first three verses of the first chapter, beginning, "The Revelation of Jesus Christ,

* (7) Domitianus uero eodem anno quo iussit sanctum johannem exilium a senatu romano interfectus est. Johannes autem a senatu domiciano exilio resolutus recessit ephesum ibique ob hereticorum refutandas (*uersutias* r)ogatus dicitur ab omnibus asiæ episcopis et presbyteris quia jam in tribus evangeliorum filiumnis habebant..... dam illorum heresim qui dicebunt xpistum ante mariam non fuisse.

† (8) Dictus apostolusntibus et in prece perseverantibus non
 co- | mune precat quod cum fecissent. Die tertia tanta
 gracia spiritus sancti sermone inter- | pretationem
 esse repletus ut usque ad contemplandam totius trinitatis Christi et de
 eter- | ne uite purissimo.....ret quod nobis facientibus pro(*clam*)aret
 unde et evangelium dictum est exordium. In | principio erat verbum et verbum
 erat apud deum et deum erat verbum.

which God gave unto him, and sent and signified by his angel unto his servant John.”*

It consists only of St John seated on a rock with water around it to represent the island. He is asleep, his head resting upon his hand, and his book in his lap. By his side stands an angel with his right hand upon his shoulder, his left pointing as if towards the next subject. He is receiving the Revelation from the angel.

(10)† Equally simple is the treatment of the next compartment, where St. John is seated with the book before him, and is writing in it, and the seven churches of Asia are represented. They are all alike, cruciform, and with a central spire, each having the figure of an angel standing at the door. The legend beneath is extremely full and long, beginning at the fourth verse, “John to the seven churches, which are in Asia,” &c. and terminating in the middle of the twelfth, “And I turned to the voice that spake with me.” In the next subject (11)‡

* I have thought it desirable to give the texts in full from the Vulgate, as written beneath each picture. (In red letters. Incipit textus visionis apocalypsis sancti Johannis apostoli.) Chap. i. ver. 1. Apocalypsis Iesu Christi, quam dedit illi Deus palam facere servis suis, quæ oportet fieri cito: et significavit, mittens per angelum suum servo suo Johanni. 2. Qui testimonium perhibuit verbo dei et testimonium Iesu Christi, quæcumque vidit. 3. Beatus, qui legit, et audit verba prophetiæ hujus: et servat ea, quæ in ea scripta sunt: tempus enim prope est.

† (10) Chap. i. ver. 4. Joannes septem Ecclesiis, quæ sunt in Asia. Gratia vobis, et pax ab eo, qui est, et qui erat, et qui venturus est: et a septem spiritibus qui in conspectu throni ejus sunt. 5. Et a Jesu Christo, qui est testis fidelis, primogenitus mortuorum, et princeps regum terræ, qui dilexit nos, et lavit nos a peccatis nostris in sanguine suo. 6. Et fecit nos regnum. et sacerdotes Deo et Patri suo: ipsi gloria, et imperium in sæcula sæculorum: Amen. 7. Ecce venit cum nubibus et videbit eum omnis oculus, et qui eum pupugerunt. Et plangent se super eum omnes tribus terræ: Etiam: Amen. 8. Ego sum α et ω , principium et finis, dicit dominus Deus, qui est, et qui erat, et qui venturus est omnipotens. 9. Ego Johannes frater vester, et particeps in tribulatione, et regno et patientia in Christo Jesu: fui in insula quæ appellatur Patmos propter verbum Dei et testimonium Jesu. 10. Fui in spiritu in Dominica die, et audivi post me vocem magnam tanquam tubæ. 11. Quod vides, scribe in libro, et mitte septem Ecclesiis quæ sunt in Asia, Epheso, et Smyrnæ, et Pergamo, et Thyatiræ, et Sardis, et Philadelphię, et Laodiceæ. 12. Et conversus sum ut viderem vocem quæ loquebatur mecum. The gloss to this is too effaced to be legible.

‡ (11) Chap. i. ver. 13. Et in medio septem candelabrorum sacerdotum similem filio hominis, vestitum podere et præinctum ad mamillas zona aurea. 14. Caput autem ejus et capilli erant candidi tanquam lana alba et tanquam nix et oculi ejus tanquam flamma ignis. 15. Et pedes ejus simile aurichalco sicut in camino

the text is a continuation at the thirteenth verse, "And being turned I saw seven golden candlesticks, and in the midst of the seven candlesticks one like to the Son of man, clothed with a garment down to the foot, and girt about the paps with a golden girdle,"—"and he had in his right hand seven stars, and out of his mouth went a sharp two-edged sword,"—"and when I saw him, I fell at his feet as dead. And he laid his right hand upon me, saying unto me, I am the first and the last."

The subject is again very simple in its design: A figure in a white dress, having a cowl thrown back on the shoulders, holding the seven stars in his right hand, and a sword in his mouth, seated upon a throne, in front of an altar on which are seven candlesticks arranged on each side. The face of this figure resembles that of a lion, and is gilded, as also the hands and feet, following the text, "his countenance was as the sun shineth in his strength;" the beard is, however, white, and the nimbus red with gold cross. Perhaps the lion-like aspect may refer to the "Lion of the tribe of Judah"

The prostrate figure of St. John is in front with the attending angel, which we shall find frequently introduced when the saint is said to be influenced by the spirit. Here it must represent that part of the text which says "he laid his right hand upon me;" notwithstanding this refers to him upon the throne. No subjects are given from the second and third chapters, but are resumed in the fourth, where the legend begins with the first two words (I now speak of the Latin) "Post hæc," and continues with the second word of the second verse, "statim."*

ardenti et vox illius tamquam vox aquarum multarum. 16. Et habebat in dextera sua stellas septem, et de ore ejus gladius utraque parte acutus exhibat: et facies ejus sicut sol in virtute sua. 17. Et cum vidissem eum, cecidi ad pedes ejus tamquam mortuus. Et posuit dexteram suam super me, dicens, Noli timere: ego sum primus et novissimus.

The rubricated gloss to this is more legible than any other, but not so as to give it completely. The initial is not put in, and "cupud" is put for "caput." (P)er capud. lex per capillos vero qui ex capite nascuntur. Multitudines designantur eorum qui per legem salvi facti sunt. (P)er oculos igitur p'phete designantur qui ea que ventura sunt vel erant longe ante providere meruerunt. (P)er gladium electi qui in tempore mundi nascituri sunt atq.....

* Chap. iv. ver. 2. Post hæc et statim fui in spiritu: et ecce sedes posita erat in cælo, et supra sedem sedens. 3. Et qui sedebat similis erat aspectui lapidis jaspidis et sardinis: et iris erat in circuitu sedis similis visioni smaragdinae. 4. Et in cir-

After this immediately I was in the spirit and behold a throne was set in heaven and one sat on the throne. 3. And there was a rainbow round about the throne like unto an emerald, and round about the throne there were four-and-twenty seats, and upon the seats I saw four-and-twenty elders sitting, clothed in white raiment, and they had on their heads crowns of gold. And round about the throne were four beasts full of eyes before and behind. And the first beast was like a lion, and the second like a calf, and the third beast had the face as a man, and the fourth was like a flying eagle. And the four beasts had each of them six wings about him.

(12) This, and three other subjects succeeding, are treated in the same conventional manner, intended to show merely several different periods of time in which the same person is represented, though under a symbolic form. Much has grown out of this text, and is embodied in mediæval art. I will endeavour to point out, in as brief a manner as possible, those details which are so constantly recurring in the art of the middle ages.

First, then, there is the figure of Our Lord seated upon a rainbow, his right hand in the act of benediction, in his left the book, under his feet a globe, according to the text the "earth is his footstool." Around his head is the crossed nimbus, and the figure is inclosed within an aureole, *i. e.* an oval form, representing glory or the rainbow of the text, which is to the figure what the nimbus is to the head, and which is never applied except to the most sacred personages. At each corner of this you find the four beasts, not exactly as described in the text, but as accepted in mediæval art, as they have but two

cuitu sedis sedilia viginti quatuor seniores sedentes, circumamicti vestimentis albis, et in capitibus eorum coronæ aureæ. 5. Et de throno procedebant fulgura et voces et tonitrua: et septem lampades ardentes ante thronum, qui sunt septem spiritus dei. 6. Et in conspectu sedis tanquam mare vitreum simile crystallo: et in medio sedis et in circuitu sedis quattuor animalia plena oculis ante et retro. 7. Et animal primum simile leoni, et secundum animal simile vitulo, et tertium animal habens faciem quasi hominis, et quartum simile aquilæ volanti. 8. Et quattuor animalia singula eorum habebant alas senas: et in circuitu et intus plena sunt oculis: et requiem non habebant die ac nocte, dicentia, Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus deus omnipotens, qui erat, et qui est, et qui venturus est. 9. Et cum darent illa animalia gloriam et honorem, et benedictionem sedenti super thronum, viventi in sæcula sæculorum, 10. Procedebant viginti quattuor seniores ante sedentem in throno, et adorabant viventem in sæcula sæculorum et mittebant coronas suas ante thronum dicentes, 11. Dignus es domine deus noster accipere gloriam, et honorem, et virtutem: quia tu creasti omnia, et propter voluntatem tuam erant. et creata sunt.

wings, not six. No subject involves more research, nor leads further into remote antiquity, than these Evangelistic symbols, as we call them, as it carries us far into oriental symbolism. At present I shall merely quote from an early ecclesiastical writer, which gives a fanciful explanation that has been much enlarged upon in later times. The man or angel is appropriated to St. Matthew on account of the genealogy of Jesus Christ, writing of him as man. To St. Luke is given the calf or bull, because he derives him from the priesthood of Zacharias. St. Mark has the face of the lion, because of the voice of one crying in the wilderness "Prepare ye the way of the Lord," &c. but to St. John the eagle, as flying to heaven and to the Father himself, saying, "In the beginning was the Word, &c." The arrangement of the four-and twenty elders is in four compartments on each side the chief figure, and they are remarkable for the many forms of ancient musical instruments which they hold.

(13) In this we see the figure of an angel holding an open book, St. John is weeping, and being led by a venerable bearded figure to a door, at which stands another, which figures represent the elders, according to the text, from chap. v. ver. 2 :—

And I saw a strong angel proclaiming with a loud voice, Who is worthy to open the book, and loose the seals thereof? And no man in heaven, nor in earth, neither under the earth, was able to open the book, neither to look thereon. And I wept much, &c. &c. And one of the elders said unto me, Weep not: behold the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the Root of David, hath prevailed to open the book, and to loose the seven seals thereof.

(14)* The treatment of the next subject is so very similar to one (12) previously described, that is only needful to point out, that the figure within the aureole sits upon a red throne holding the book with seven seals in the right hand, and in the palm of the left is what appears to be the consecrated host, possibly to signify "the living bread that came down from heaven." There are no animals at the corners, and the figures of the elders are casting down their crowns and musical instruments.

* (14) Chap. v. ver. 1. Et vidi in dextera sedentis supra thronum, librum scriptum intus et foris, signatim sigillis septem. 2. Et vidi angelum fortem, predicantem voce magna: Quis est dignus aperire librum, et solvere signacula ejus? 3. Et nemo poterat neque in cœlo, neque in terra, neque subtus terram aperire librum, neque respicere illum.

(15)* In that succeeding, also, are similar conventions, but in the centre of the aureole is the symbol of the Holy Lamb with seven eyes and seven horns, holding the cross, and raised upon a table or altar. The texts for these run as follows :—

Chap. v. ver. 1.—And I saw in the right hand of him that sat on the throne a book written within and on the backside, sealed with seven seals.

Again at the sixth verse :—

And I beheld, and lo, in the midst of the throne and of the four beasts, and in the midst of the elders, stood a Lamb as it had been slain, having seven horns and seven eyes.

(16)† The succeeding verse is the text for the next picture, in which we still get the same arrangement of parts, but now within the aureole is a seated figure holding the book with the seven seals, and the lamb standing up as if to open it. The elders are grouped on each side in the lower compartments casting aside their crowns and instruments; in the upper part angels appear from heaven. The text is—

And he came and took the book out of the right hand of him that sat upon the throne. And when he had taken the book, the four beasts and four and twenty elders fell down before the Lamb, having every one of them harps and golden vials full of odours, which are the prayers of saints. * * * And I beheld, and heard the voice of many angels round about the throne.

* (15) Chap. v. ver. 6. Et vidi: et ecce in medio throni et quattuor animalium, et in medio seniorum, agnum stantem tamquam occisum, habentem cornua septem, et oculos septem: qui sunt septem spiritus dei, missi in omnem terram. This has a long gloss.

† (16) Chap. v. ver. 7. Et venit, et accepit librum de dextera sedentis super throno. 8. Et cum aperuisset librum, quattuor animalia, et viginti quattuor seniores, ceciderunt coram agno, habentes singuli citharas, et phialas aureas plenas odoramentorum, quæ sunt orationes sanctorum. 9. Et cantabant canticum novum, dicentes: Dignus es domine accipere librum et aperire signacula ejus: quoniam occisus es et redimisti nos deo in sanguine tuo ex omni tribu, et lingua, et populo, et natione. 10. Et fecisti nos deo nostro regnum et sacerdotes: et regnabimus super terram. 11. Et vidi, et audivi vocem angelorum multorum in circuitu throni et animalium, et seniorum, et erat numerus eorum millia millium; 12. Dicentium voce magna: Dignus est agnus qui occisus est accipere virtutem, et divinitatem, et sapientiam, et fortitudinem, et honorem, et gloriam, et benedictionem.

The next three paintings which are preserved on this, the north side, are all more or less imperfect. In the treatment, the mode adopted to express a revelation to the saint is especially worth notice. The symbols of the Evangelist are represented as coming down from heaven, and are by the ear of St. John, who is standing and looking towards the vision.

(17)* In the first it is the symbol of St. Matthew. The figure of the vision is on a white horse, and attired in a close-fitting jupon with a wide cape, and is bending a bow. The text is from Chap. vi. ver. 1:—

And I saw when the Lamb opened one of the seals, and I heard, as it were, the noise of thunder, one of the four beasts saying, Come and see. And I saw, and behold a white horse: and he that sat on him had a bow; and a crown was given unto him: and he went forth conquering and to conquer.

(18)† The next subject is but a fragment. Here the beast is the lion or symbol of St. Mark, which is placed by the head of St. John, and the figure is he upon the red horse, and bears a sword. Thus the text:—

And when he had opened the second seal, I heard the second beast say, Come and see. And there went out another horse that was red: and power was given to him that sat thereon to take peace from the earth, and that they should kill one another: and there was given unto him a great sword.

(19)‡ In the next subject the bull or calf, the symbol of St. Luke, is by the ear of the saint, but only a part of the figure on a black horse and holding scales remains. The text is—

And when he had opened the third seal, I heard the third beast say, Come and see. And I beheld, and lo a black horse; and he that sat on him had a pair of balances in his hand.

* (17) Chap. vi. ver. 1. Et vidi quod aperuisset agnus unum de septem sigillis, et audivi unum de quatuor animalibus, dicens, tanquam vocem tonitruum, veni et vide. 2. Et vidi, et ecce equus albus, et qui sedebat super illum habebat arcum, et data est ei corona, et exivit vincens ut vinceret.

† (18) Chap. vi. ver. 3. Et cum aperuisset sigillum secundum, audivi secundum animal dicens, veni et vide. 4. Et exivit alius equus rufus: et qui sedebat super illum datum est ei ut sumeret pacem de terra, et ut invicem se interficerent, et datus est ei gladius magnus.

‡ (19) Chap. vi. ver. 5. Et cum aperuisset sigillum tertium audivi tertium animal dicens, veni et vide. Et ecce equus niger: et qui sedebat super illum habebat stateram in manu ejus.

From this, a very large gap is made in the continuity of our subject through the utter destruction of the paintings, and amongst these would have been some of the most curious of the conventions observed in the mediæval treatment of the Apocalypse. Death on the pale horse, which would have immediately succeeded it, is never given, as by some modern painters, like a fleshless skeleton, but is a figure with ruthless aspect upon a horse of that pale green which marks decomposition, and followed by grotesquely contorted figures with demoniac visages, denoting "Death and Hell."

The series, just described, breaks off at the fourth division of the arcade, on the first side of the octagon on the north, having one subject utterly gone. All the rest of the northern wall is bare, but when complete, the continuation of the Apocalypse would have embraced the whole of the next side of the octagon and two bays of that succeeding, thus corresponding with the arrangement on the southern side.

It is not difficult to decide what the subjects were, 33 in number which occupied the rest of this northern wall. By the aid of the manuscript of the Apocalypse in the Royal Library (2 D. XIII.) very fully illustrated, and belonging to the fourteenth century, one is able to understand the conventional subjects chosen; and they so closely agree with this series, that there is but the variation of one in the number required to fill the gap. I therefore have no doubt, whatever, but that they were taken from the following texts: (20) chap. vi. ver. 9-11, (21) ver. 12-17; (22) chap. vii. ver. 1-4, (23) ver. 9-12, (24) ver. 13-17; (25) chap. viii. ver. 1, 2, (26) ver. 3-6, (27) ver. 7, (28) ver. 8, 9, (29) ver. 10, 11, (30) ver. 12 (31) ver. 13; (32) chap. ix. ver. 1-6, (33) ver. 7-12, (34) ver. 13-16, (35) ver. 17-21; (36) chap. x. ver. 1-3, (37) ver. 4-7, (38) ver. 8-11; (39) chap. xi. ver. 1, 2, (40) ver. 3-6, (41) ver. 7-10, (42) ver. 11-14, (43) ver. 15, (44) ver. 16-18, (45) ver. 19; (46) chap. xii. ver. 1, 2, (47) ver. 3-6, (48) ver. 7-9, (49) ver. 10-12, (50) ver. 13-14, (51) ver. 15, 16, (52) ver. 17, thus ending the chapter.

(53)* The subject which is resumed on the southern wall is taken from the following, chap. 13, ver. 1:

* (53) Chap. xiii. ver. 1. Et vidi de mari bestiam ascendentem habentem capita septem, et cornua decem, et super cornua ejus decem diademata, et super

And I saw a beast rise up out of the sea, having seven heads and ten horns, and upon his horns ten crowns, and upon his head the name of blasphemy. And the beast which I saw was like unto a leopard, and his feet were as the feet of a bear, and his mouth as the mouth of a lion, and the dragon gave him his power and his seat and great authority. And it was given unto him to make war with the saints and to overcome them.

The literal manner in which this is treated is almost whimsical; but it is not the fault of the artist, he simply follows his rule, for the subject is always carried out in this manner. The painting shows us the beast, as described in the text, round his neck in knightly fashion hangs a heater shield, and he is charging with lance in rest upon a number of fugitives, who, prostrate before him, turn back their heads in terror.

(54)‡ The next subject is taken from the eleventh verse:—

And I beheld another beast coming out of the earth, and he had two horns like a lamb, and he spake as a dragon, and he exerciseth all the power of the first beast before him, and causeth the earth and them which dwell therein to worship the first beast, &c.

Here St. John, who has not appeared in the latter subject, is again introduced, figures are kneeling in worship of the beast before them, and the beast with horns is behind them, reared up with his paws, against their backs, as if compelling them to worship.

(55)† In the following compartment the beast with the horns again appears, holding a drawn sword in his right hand in a threatening attitude towards one about to kneel, his left being upon the heads of figures kneeling and worshipping the beast represented above. The text for this would appear to be that of the fifteenth verse where it continues the account of the second beast:

capita ejus nomina blasphemiarum. Et bestia quam vidi similis erat pardo, et pedes ejus sicut pedes ursi, et os ejus sicut os leonis * * * * 7. Et datum est illi bellum facere cum sanctis et vincere eos.

* (54) Chap. xiii. ver. 11. Et vidi aliam bestiam ascendentem de terra, et habebat cornua duo similia agni et loquebatur sicut draco. 12. Et potestatem prioris bestiarum omnem faciebat in conspectu ejus: et fecit terram, et habitantes in ea, adorare bestiam primam, cujus curata est plaga mortis.

† (55) Chap. xiii. ver. 15. Et datum est illi ut daret spiritum imagini bestiarum et ut loquatur imago bestiarum: et faciat ut quicumque non adoraverunt imaginem bestiarum, occidantur.

And he had power to give life unto the image of the beast, that the image of the beast should both speak, and cause that as many as would not worship the image of the beast should be killed.

The next verse, 16, gives us the text for the succeeding painting (56),* where you see a number of figures kneeling before the beast, who is seated, and who is placing his hand upon them to give the mark of the beast according to the text. Behind them a group of others with hands uplifted as in acclamation. It is as follows :

And he causeth all, both small and great, both rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their right hand or in their forehead.

In that following (57) † we see the figure of the saint with a book open before him, and in front of him two groups of figures kneeling face to face, a portion of the upper left hand corner being obliterated. This must be from the first verse of chap. xiv.: "And I looked and, lo, a Lamb stood in the Mount Sion, and with him an hundred forty and four thousand," &c. &c. This is rendered somewhat obscure by the part which is wanting, but there can be no doubt it is taken from the text given.

The next (58) ‡ is defaced. There are some slight remains of a figure, and above of an aureole. It must be from verses 2, 3: "And I heard a voice from heaven, as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of a great thunder," &c.

The succeeding painting (59) § is also obscure, and I cannot give a parallel to the mode of treatment. It must, however, be a continuation of the previous subject. There is the Lamb upon the Mount Sion, and in the foreground what at first sight would look like the

* (56) Chap. xiii. ver. 16. *Et faciet omnes, pusillos et magnos, et divites et pauperes, et liberos et servos, habere characterem in dextera manu sua, aut in frontibus suis.*

† (57) Chap. xiv. ver. 1. *Et vidi, et ecce agnus stabat supra montem Sion et cum eo centum quadraginta quattuor millia habentes nomen ejus, et nomen patris ejus scriptum in frontibus suis.*

‡ (58) Chap. xiv. ver. 2. *Et audivi vocem de cælo, tamquam vocem aquarum multarum, et tamquam vocem tonitruum magni; et vocem quam audivi sicut citharædorum citharizantium in citharis ejus.*

§ (59) Chap. xiv. ver. 4. *Hi sunt qui cum mulieribus non sunt coinquinati: virgines enim sunt. Hi sequuntur agnum quocumque ierit. Hi empti sunt ex hominibus primitiæ deo et agno.*

rite of marriage. An aged man is between a female with long flowing hair, whose left hand is uplifted as if in surprise, and another male figure opposite to her, their hands meeting together in the centre. It is possible the female may represent one whose temptations have been refused, and therefore it has reference to verse 4: "These are they which were not defiled with women." The special character of the treatment reminds us that the artist was a monk, and that the work was executed in a monastery. There has been tampering with this picture, apparently done a long time back, in which a beard has been put to the female. From this a large part of the wall is defaced, showing in some cases portions of inscribed texts or some isolated fragments of painting here and there. The several subjects, however, can be referred to their texts without difficulty.

(60)* That succeeding is from chap. xiv. ver. 6: "And I saw another angel fly in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach," &c. The next (61) † is equally obliterated, but is from the 8th verse: "And there followed another angel, saying Babylon is fallen," &c. Of the next (62) ‡ some fragments of the inscribed text remain, which show it to be from verses 9, 10, 11; the words remaining are from the latter, viz.: "And the smoke of their torment ascendeth up for ever and ever," &c. (63) § This is quite

* (60) Chap. xiv. ver. 6. *Et vidi alterum angelum volantem per medium cœli, habentem evangelium æternum, ut evangelizaret sedentibus super terram, et super omnem gentem, et tribum, et linguam, et populum. 7. Dicens magna voce time te dominum et date illi honorem, quia venit hora judicii ejus: et adorete eum qui fecit cœlum, et terram, mare et fontes aquarum.*

† (61) Chap. xiv. ver. 7. *Et alius angelus secutus est dicens: Cecidit, cecidit, Babylon illa magna, quæ a vino iræ fornicationis suæ potavit omnes gentes.*

‡ (62) Chap. xiv. ver. 9. *Et tertius angelus secutus est illos, dicens voce magna: si quis adoravit bestiam, et imaginem ejus, et accepit characterem in fronte sua, aut in manu sua. 10. Et hic bibet de vino iræ dei, quod mistum est mero in calice iræ ipsius. et cruciabitur igne, et sulphure in conspectu angelorum sanctorum, et ante conspectu agni. 11. Et fumus tormentorum eorum ascendet in sæculum sæculorum: nec habent requiem die ac nocte, qui adoraverunt bestiam, et imaginem ejus, et si quis accepit characterem hominis ejus. This has a gloss.*

§ (63) Chap. xiv. ver. 13. *Et audivi vocem de cœlo, dicentem mihi, Scribe: Beati mortui qui in domino moriuntur. Amodo jam dicit spiritus, ut requiescunt a laboribus suis; opera enim illorum sequuntur illos.*

defaced, but is from verses 12, 13. Of the succeeding (64)* a fragment of a crowned head surrounded with a nimbus is sufficient to specialize and identify the subject as from the 14th verse: "And I looked, and behold a white cloud, and upon the cloud one sat like unto the Son of man, having on his head a golden crown, and in his hand a sharp sickle." A portion of the text inscribed remains in the next (65),† and shews the painting to have been from verses 17, 18, 19: "And another angel came out of the temple which is in Heaven, he also having a sharp sickle," &c.

Fragments of text also remain in the next (66)‡ but none of the painting. It is from chap. xv. ver. 1: "And I saw another sign in heaven, great and marvellous, seven angels having the seven last plagues, for in them is filled up the wrath of God." Both the two following are defaced. One (67)§ is from the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th verses succeeding, beginning "And I saw as it were a sea of glass mingled with fire," &c. That following (68)|| contains some fragments of the painting, which consists chiefly in some small figures of angels in white albs issuing from a door. This is from the 5th and 6th

* (64) Chap. xiv. ver. 14. *Et vidi et ecce nubem candidam: et super nubem sedentem similem filio hominis, habentem in capite suo coronam auream, et in manu sua falcem acutam.* 15. *Et alius angelus exivit de templo clamans voce magna ad sedentem super nubem; mitte falcem tuam et mete quia venit hora ut metatur, quoniam aruit messis terræ.* 16. *Et misit qui sedebat super nubem falcem suam in terram et demessa est terra.*

† (65) Chap. xiv. ver. 17. *Et alius angelus exivit de templo, quod est in cælo, habens et ipse falcem acutam.* 18. *Et alius angelus exivit de altari, qui habebat potestatem supra ignem; et clamavit voce magna ad eum qui habebat falcem acutam, dicens; Mitte falcem tuam acutam, et vindemia botros vineæ terræ: quoniam maturæ sunt uvæ ejus.* 19. *Et misit angelus falcem suam acutam in terram, vindemiavit vineam terræ, et misit in lacum iræ dei magnum.* 20. *Et calcatus est lacus extra civitatem, et exivit sanguis de lacu usque ad frenos equorum per stadia mille sexcenta.*

‡ (66) Chap. xv. ver. 1. *Et vidi aliud signum in cælo, magnum et mirabile, angelos septem, habentes plagas septem novissimas: quoniam in illis consummata est ira dei.* There is a gloss.

§ (67) Chap. xv. ver. 2. *Et vidi tanquam mare vitreum mistum igne, et eos qui vicerunt bestiam, et imaginem ejus, et numerum nominis ejus, stantes super mare vitreum, habentes citharas dei.*

|| (68) Chap. xv. ver. 5. *Et post hæc vidi, et ecce apertum est templum tabernaculi testimonii in cælo.* 6. *Et exierunt septem angeli habentem septem plagas de templo, vestiti lino mundo et candido, et præcincti circa pectora zoniis aureis.*

verses, which finish the chapter: "And after that I looked, and behold, the temple of the tabernacle of the testimony in heaven was opened, and the seven angels came out of the temple," &c. Of those following some traces of the text are visible; they are taken from chap. xvi. and relate to the pouring out of the seven vials, of which the first four are contained in this arcade. Of the two uppermost ones few traces remain but of the inscriptions, and these are very imperfect. (69)* But the first subject would embrace the two first verses of the chapter, in which the first angel pours out his vial. The second (70)† is from verse 3: "And the second angel poured out his vial upon the sea," &c. Of the succeeding subject (71)‡ there are a few traces showing part of the figure of the saint seated in a grotto, and an angel descending pouring out his vial. It is from the 4th verse: "And the third angel poured out his vial upon the rivers," &c. There is just sufficient left of the next to pronounce upon it, and to associate it with its text. (72)§ It shows part of the figure of the saint, and an altar, from behind which issues an angel holding a scroll. It is from verse 7, "And I heard another out of the altar say, Even so, Lord God Almighty, true and righteous are thy judgments." Here the scroll represents this declaration, and it is a very common convention. Those succeeding in the next division of the arcade continue the subjects of the angels pouring out their vials; portions of the inscriptions to the upper subjects remain, but the paintings are obliterated. (73)|| This is from the 8th and 9th

* (69) Chap. xvi. ver. 1. Et audiui vocem magnam de templo dicentem septem angelis: ite et effundite septem phialas iræ dei in terram. 2. Et abiit primus, et effudit phialam suam in terram, et factus est vulnus sævum et pessimum, in homines qui habebant characterem bestię, et in eos qui adoraverunt imaginem ejus.

† (70) Chap. xvi. ver. 3. Et secundus angelus effudit phialam suam in mare et factus est sanguis tanquam mortui, et omnis anima vivens mortua est in mare.

‡ (71) Chap. xvi. ver. 4. Et tertius effudit phialam suam super flumina, et super fontes aquarum, et factus est sanguis.

§ (72) Chap. xvi. ver. 7. Et audiui alterum ab altari dicentem, Etiam domine deus omnipotens, vera et justa judicia tua.

|| (73) Chap. xvi. ver. 8. Et quartus angelus effudit phialam suam in solem, et datum est illi æstu affligere homines et igni. 9. Et æstuaverunt homines æstu magno et blasphemaverunt nomen dei habentis potestatem super has plagas: neque egerunt pœnitentiam ut darent illi gloriam. A long gloss.

verses, and is the fourth angel pouring out his vial upon the sun. (74)* From verses 10, 11: "And the fifth angel poured his vial upon the seat of the beast," &c. (75)† Of this some portions are preserved. There is the figure of the saint seated by a rock, and an angel descending holding a golden vial in both hands, which he is pouring out. It is taken from the 12th verse: "And the sixth angel poured out his vial upon the great river Euphrates," &c. The succeeding subjects are better preserved, though much mutilated. It is well to observe, that whenever the text makes use of the words "I saw," the figure of the saint is shown looking on, but whenever he is said to be led in the spirit, there is an attendant angel. The text for the next painting (76)‡ is as follows: "And I saw three unclean spirits like frogs come out of the mouth of the dragon, and out of the mouth of the beast, and out of the mouth of the false prophets, for they are the spirits of devils working miracles." In mediæval art the frog, toad, lizard, and other allied reptiles, are always emblems of the spirit of evil. Satan as the tempter appears in the story of the wise and foolish virgins, so admirably rendered in the sculptures at the west front of Strasburgh cathedral, attired in the foppish costume of the fourteenth century, but behind on his naked back crawl these reptiles, to indicate the moral deformity concealed under his gay clothing.

The next subject (77)§ is from the 17th verse, and represents the seventh angel pouring out his vial, and below a falling city, and

* (74) Chap. xvi. ver. 10. Et quintus angelus effudit phialam suam super sedem bestię: et factus est regnum ejus tenebrosum, et commandaverunt linguas suas præ dolore. A gloss.

† (75) Chap. xvi. ver. 12. Et sextus angelus effudit phialam suam in flumen illud magnum Euphraten: et siccavit aquam ejus, ut præpararetur via regibus ab ortu solis.

‡ (76) Chap. xvi. ver. 13. Et vidi de ore draconis et de ore bestię et de ore pseudoprophetę spiritus tres immundos in modum ranarum. 14. Sunt enim spiritus dęmoniorum facientes signa, et procedunt ad reges totius terrę congregare illos in prælium ad diem magnum omnipotentis dei.

§ (77) Chap. xvi. ver. 17. Et septimus angelus effudit phialam suam in aërem, et exivit vox magna de templo a throno, dicens: Factum est. 18. Et facta sunt fulgura, et voces, et tonitrua, et terręmotus factus est magnus, qualis nunquam fuit ex quo homines fuerunt super terram: talis terręmotus sit magnus. 19. Et facta est civitas magna in tres partes.

portions of bodies buried beneath the ruins. The text is, "And the seventh angel poured out his vial into the air, and there came a great voice out of the temple of heaven, saying, It is done. And there were voices and thunder and lightnings; and there was a great earthquake, such as was not since men were upon the earth, so mighty an earthquake, and so great. And the great city was divided into three parts."

That following (78)* is from chap. xvii. beginning at verse 1: "And there came one of the seven angels and talked with me, saying unto me, Come hither! I will show unto thee the judgment of the great whore that sitteth upon many waters." In this the angel is conducting the saint towards the figure of a woman in royal attire, holding a golden cup in her hand, but it is very much defaced.

In the next (79),† which continues the story, you will perceive that



(FIG. 3.)

* (78) Chap. xvii. ver. 1. Et venit unus de septem angelis qui habebant septem phialas, et locutus est mecum, dicens; Veni ostendam tibi damnationem meretricis magnæ, quæ sedet super aquas multas. 2. Cum qua fornicati sunt reges terræ et inebriati sunt qui inhabitant terram de vino prostitutionis ejus.

† (79) Chap. xvii. ver. 3. Et abstulit me in spiritu in desertum. Et vidi mulierem sedentem super bestiam coccineam, plenam nominibus blasphemiarum,

the angel is descending from heaven towards the saint; this is to show that he is being conveyed in the spirit, as the text sets forth. The figure of the woman with light hair sits upon the many-headed beast. She is royally attired in a green dress trimmed with ermine, but wearing a crimson mantle; and she holds in her left hand a golden cup as before, in her right a great ring, and perhaps jewels, representing gifts. Some traces of gilding about the forehead may have been the word "Babylon."

The text is at the 3rd verse: "So he carried me away in the spirit into the wilderness, and I saw a woman sit upon a scarlet-coloured beast, full of the names of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns. And the woman was arrayed in purple and scarlet colour, and decked with gold, and precious stones, and pearls, having a golden cup in her hand," &c.

I must not pass away from this figure without some remarks, for it is exceedingly rare that examples of it are preserved either at home or abroad on the walls of our churches. The artist has not kept to his text, nor does he ever do so, for the attire of the woman is always given as a rich costume of the time of the painting; and it shows clearly that he worked to a convention, in fact a receipt, without troubling himself at all about the text. The general treatment of the figure here observed is a typical one, and can easily be paralleled.

The story is continued in the succeeding compartment (80),* but the figure of an angel conducting the saint is all that is now preserved. The text is that at verse 6: "And I saw the woman drunken with the blood of the saints," and is usually treated by a representation of the figure of the woman staggering, or lying down upon the ground drunk. The painting which follows (81)† is better preserved. St. John

habentem capita septem et cornua decem. 4. Et mulier erat circumdata purpura, et coccino, et inaurata auro, et lapide pretioso, et margaritis, habens poculum aureum in manu sua plenum abominatione, et immunditia fornicationis ejus. 5. Et in fronte ejus nomen scriptum: Mysterium, Babylon magna, mater fornicationum, et abominationum terræ.

* (80) Chap. xvii. ver. 6. *Et vidi mulierem ebriam de sanguine sanctorum et de sanguine martyrum Jesu. Et miratus sum cum vidissem illum admiratione magna.*

† (81) Chap. xviii. ver. 1. *Et post hæc vidi alium angelum descendentem de cælo, habentem postestatem magnam, et terra illuminata est a gloria ejus. 2. Et*

is seated, looking down upon the fallen city; above, an angel descending from heaven. The text is at the first verse of the 18th chapter: "And after these things I saw another angel come down from heaven having great power, and the earth was lightened with his glory. And he cried mightily with a strong voice, saying, Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen."

The next (82)* must be taken from the fourth verse, "And I heard another voice from heaven saying, Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins."

In this the saint is seated resting upon his crouch or staff. The voice from heaven is given as an angel descending, who holds in his hand what appears to be a consecrated wafer, which a figure seated in a chair is receiving. Standing aside is one holding a scroll. This carries out the text at the fifth verse: "For her sins have reached unto heaven, and God hath remembered her iniquities." The text of the Vulgate is more apt to our subject, wherein it says, "et recordatus est Dominus iniquitatum ejus." The term "recordatus" explains the scroll better, it is the record of judgment. But there are some obscurities here also which I will not venture at present to explain. Following this is one from the twenty-first verse (83)† "And a mighty angel took up a stone, like a great millstone, and cast it into the sea, saying, Thus with violence shall that great city Babylon be thrown down." Of this no more remains but the figure of the angel with the millstone.

The story of the judgment upon Babylon still continues in the next

exclamavit in fortitudine dicens; Cecidit, cecedit, Babylon magna, et facta est habitatio dæmoniorum et custodia omnis spiritus immundi et custodia omnis volueris immundæ et odibilis. 3. Quia de vino iræ fornicationis ejus biberunt omnes gentes: et reges terræ cum illa fornicati sunt: et mercatores terræ de virtute deliciarum ejus divites facti sunt. Gloss.

* (82) Chap. xviii. ver. 4. Et audiivi alium vocem de cœlo, dicentem, Exite de illa populus meus, ut ne participes sitis delictorum ejus, et de plagis ejus non accipiatis. 5. Quoniam pervenerunt peccata ejus usque ad cœlum, et recordatus est dominus iniquitatum ejus. 6. Reddite illi sicut et ipsa reddidit vobis, et duplicate duplicia secundum opera ejus; in poculo quo miscuit miscete illi duplum.

† (83) Chap. xviii. ver. 21. Et sustulit unus angelus fortis lapidem quasi molarem magnum, et misit in mare, dicens: Hoc impetu mittetur Babylon civitas illa magna, et ultra jam non inveniatur.

(84),* the text being from chapter xix. beginning at the first verse, "And after these things I heard a great voice of much people in heaven, saying Alleluia, &c. for true and righteous are his judgments: for he hath judged the great whore which did corrupt the earth with her fornication."

The treatment of this subject is very remarkable. St. John is seated with his book, by his feet is the woman, wrapped in a shroud, and burning. A multitude are looking on. Above is heaven; within an aureole a figure of the deity, now quite defaced; four angels are blowing horns, a mode of proclaiming the judgment, whilst another angel descends holding a scroll to represent the record.



(FIG. 4).

We continue now at the sixth verse. In this, what remains of the legend is very distinct, being painted upon the wall and not upon paper, like most of the others, and it comprises all from the sixth to the ninth verse, but I will first only give that required by this picture (85) : †

* (84) Post hæc audivi quasi vocem turbarum multarum in cælo dicentium: Alleluia: salus et gloria et virtus deo nostro est. 2. Quia vera et justa judicia sunt ejus, qui judicavit de meretrice magna, quæ corrumpit terram in prostitutione sua et vindicavit sanguinem servorum suorum de manibus ejus.

† (85) Chap. xix. ver. 6. Et audivi quasi vocem turbæ magnæ, et sicut vocem aquarum multarum, et sicut vocem tonitruorum magnorum, dicentium: Alleluia,

And I heard as it were the voice of a great multitude, and as the voice of many waters, &c. saying Alleluia, for the Lord omnipotent reigneth. Let us be glad and rejoice and give honour to him, for the marriage of the Lamb is come, and his wife has made herself ready. And to her it was granted that she should be arrayed in fine linen, clean and white; for the fine linen is the righteousness of the saints, &c.

This picture is a curious instance of the literal manner in which mediæval convention deals with its subjects. There is an altar, upon which stands the symbol of the Holy Lamb, holding out a ring towards a female figure kneeling, representing the bride, and attendants with musical instruments about her; whilst coming down from heaven is an angel bearing the fine linen mentioned in the text. St. John stands on one side, an angel communicating with him. Behind the altar a crowd of worshippers represent the multitude; an aged bearded figure is seated by the bride.

(86)* The text continues:—

And I fell at his feet to worship him, and he said unto me see thou do it not. I am thy fellow servant, and of thy brethren that bear the testimony of Jesus, &c.

In this the angel is raising St. John, who has fallen at his feet, with one hand, whilst with the other he is pointing to heaven, where within an aureole is the figure of deity, thus following up the text “Worship God, for the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy.”

In another part of the same picture the angel is talking to the saint, in fact is reasoning with him, according to the text, “Worship God,” &c.

The next picture (87)† continues the subject at the following verse, the 11th:—

quoniam regnavit dominus deus noster omnipotens. 7. Gaudeamus et exultemus et demus gloriam ei: quia venerunt nuptiæ agni et uxor ejus præparavit se. 8. Et datum illi ut cooperiat se byssino splendenti et candido. Byssinum enim justificationes sunt sanctorum.

* (86) Chap. xix. ver. 9. Et dixit mihi: Scribe, Beati qui ad cœnam nuptiarum agni vocati sunt. Et dixit mihi, Hæc verba dei vera sunt. 10. Et cecidi ante pedes ejus, ut adorarem eum. Et dicit mihi: vide ne feceris: conservus tuus sum, et fratrum tuorum habentium testimonium Jesu. Deum adora; testimonium enim Jesu est spiritus prophetiæ.

† (87) Chap. xix. ver. 11. Et vidi cœlum apertum, et ecce equus albus, et qui sedebat super eum vocabatur Fidelis et Verax, et cum justicia judicat et pugnat. 12. Oculi ejus sicut flamma ignis, et in capite ejus diademata multa, habens nomen scriptum quod nemo novit nisi ipse. 13. Et vestitus erat veste aspersa sanguine: et vocatur nomen ejus verbum dei. 14. Et exercitus qui sunt in cœlo sequebantur eum in equis albis, vestiti byssino albo et mundo. 15. Et de ore

And I saw heaven opened, and behold a white horse, and he that sat upon him was called Faithful and True, &c. His eyes were as a flame of fire, and on his head were many crowns, &c. And he was clothed in a vesture dipped in blood: and his name is called The Word of God. And the armies which were in heaven followed him upon white horses, &c. And out of his mouth goeth a sharp sword. And he hath on his vesture and on his thigh a name written, KING OF KINGS, AND LORD OF LORDS.

St. John is here seated and looking up towards the figure in white upon a white horse with a sword in his mouth, accompanied by other figures, now very obscure, also on horses, all being within a nebulous inclosure to signify heaven.

The next compartment (88)* comprises a subject from the 17th verse :

And I saw an angel standing in the sun ; and he cried with a loud voice, saying to all the fowls that fly in the midst of heaven, Come and gather yourselves together unto the supper of the great God.

The figure of the saint is here standing, above is an angel within a conventional irradiation representing the sun, upon the ground are heads and the remains of bodies, towards which carrion fowls are descending.

A mere fragment, comprising the figure upon the white horse, and some portion of the beast, with shield and lance, within a nebulous aureole, is all we have left of the succeeding picture (89),† and we can decipher no more. This is from the nineteenth verse—

And I saw the beast, and the Kings of the earth, and their armies gathered together to make war against him that sat on the horse, and against his army.

We now lose the rest of the illustrations of the concluding chapters. But the series is generally concluded by the subject of the "New

ejus procedit gladius ex utraque parte acutus : ut in ipso percutiat gentes. Et ipse reget eas in virga ferrea : et ipse calcet torcular vini furoris iræ dei omnipotentis. 16. Et habet in vestimento et in fœmore suo scriptum : Rex regum, Dominus dominantium.

* (88) Chap. xix. ver. 17. *Et vidi unum angelum stantem in sole, et clamavit voce magna, dicens omnibus avibus quæ volabant per medium cæli ; Venite, et congregamini ad cœnam magnam dei. 18. Ut manducetis carnes regum, et carnes tribunorum, et carnes fortium, et carnes equorum, et sedentium in ipsis, et carnes omnium liberorum et servorum, et pusillorum et magnorum.*

† (89) Chap. xix. ver. 19. *Et vidi bestiam, et reges terræ, et exercitus eorum congregatos ad faciendum prælium cum illo qui sedebat in equo et cum exercitu ejus.*

Jerusalem." It was one that exercised a great deal of skill, and so late as 1606 a thoroughly mediæval example was painted upon glass, and is in the church of St. Martin-ès-Vignes at Troyes in France.

The rest of the wall, now blank, has space for fifteen subjects, all of which were certainly once filled. Considering that we begin with the life of the saint, the paintings leaving him at Patmos, and his legendary history telling us that he returned and continued his ministration at Ephesus, we may infer that when the paintings were complete his life was continued upon the walls, the Visions of the Apocalypse being an episode only. My opinion is, then, that number of compartments may have been devoted to the events in the conclusion of his career, embracing the legend of the poisoned chalice, which always constitutes the distinguishing attribute of the saint, as may be seen in his figure in the chapel of Henry VII.

Eleven subjects are required to finish the panels of the south wall, but leaving that of the west wall by the doorway. These would be thus arranged, according to the following chapters and verses: (90) chap. xix. ver. 20, 21; (91) chap. xx. ver. 1-3; (92) ver. 4; (93) ver. 7 to part of ver. 9, ending at "devoured them;" (94) This begins at ver. 9, "And the devil," &c. ending at ver. 10; (95) ver. 11-15; (96) chap. xxi. ver. 1, 2; (97) Probably from ver. 9, 10, &c.; (98) chap. xxii. ver. 1-5; (99) ver. 6-9, &c.; (100) ver. 16. This coincides, with the exception of one, which I have added, exactly with the arrangement in the MS. to which I have referred, and it is not possible to amplify by additional subjects, required to fill the space on the west wall, out of the Apocalypse. The rest of the space, therefore, was devoted to the conclusion of the legendary history of the saint.

There are four subjects required; and the most noted facts in the legend after the joyful return of the saint to Ephesus would be shown, as also the circumstances of his death. There is yet one small portion, on which I must offer a few words, and this belongs to that executed by John of Northampton. It forms a completing border to the base of the designs and upon the face of the upper step, where however, a very small fragment remains. This represents what was anciently called "a Bestiary," what we should now perhaps call "zoological illustrations." A series of animals are depicted, against which the artist has judiciously placed the names in English. We see the "Reynder" with a very impossible extent of horns; then the "Ro," the "Wild ass," and the "Tam ass," the "Dromedary" and

the "Kameyl." From hence it is defaced, but seemingly shows part of a hedgehog. The name "Lyon" occurs in another, and other fragments are seen here and there upon the riser of the step; they are creatures of the sea, but are not very visible.

It may be asked why these subjects are introduced. It was not a mere fancy of the artist, because you frequently see them associated, as here, with religious subjects, and very often in books of prayer, as in a very fine example called "Queen Mary's Psalter," Brit. Mus.

The old "Bestiaries," which are not at all uncommon in our national collection, were scientific treatises built up a good deal upon the works of Pliny. But this science was mixed with religious symbolism of a very fanciful character, and every animal is supposed to signify something in connection with Christian teaching. To enter fully into this now would weary you, so I will confine myself to one or two passages from the Bestiary of Philip de Thaur, who lived in the reign of Henry I. and dedicated his book to the Queen.

"Onos in Greek is the name given to an ass: hear what signifies a beast of such quality. Man when he says truth is rightly named man, and ass signifies when he does villany; wherefore David says that man did not attend to himself, little he valued himself, when he left honour: who denies verity let him be called an ass.

"Onager by right is named the wild ass. When March in its course has completed twenty-five days, then that day of the month he brays twelve times, and also in the night, for this reason, that that season is the Equinox, that is, that day and night are of equal length. By the twelve times that it makes of its braying and its crying it shows that day and night have twelve hours in its circuit. The ass is grieved when he makes his cry that the night and day have equal length; he likes better the length of the night than the day."

The writer then proceeds to moralise. "Onager," he says, "signifies the devil in this life: And when the devil perceives that his people decrease, as do the hours which are in the night, after the vernal equinox, then he begins to cry, to deplore greatly, as the ass does which brays and cries."* With this specimen of the zoological science of the middle ages you will perhaps be inclined to rest content.

* See edition edited by Thomas Wright, M.A. F.S.A.